

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY PM/DCA:TWSIMONS:SAC
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APPROVED BY S - MR. RUSH (ACTING)
D/MBFR:VBAKER, ACTING
PM/DCA:TTIMBERMAN
EUR:MR. SPRINGSTEEN
EUR/RPM:MR. STREATOR
DEFENSE:MR. SCHLESINGER
JCS:BGEN. GEORGI(INFORMED)
NSC:MR. KISSINGER
S/S:O - P. SARROS
ACDA:DLINEBAUGH
ACDA/IR:THIRSCHFELD

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 146712

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:
TAGS: PARM
LONDON FOR DEAN
SUBJECT: NAC PRESENTATION OF US MBFR POSITION
FOR AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD
1. US PRESENTATION ON ALLIANCE NEGOTIATING PROGRAM FOR
MBFR FOLLOWS BELOW, TOGETHER WITH CONTINGENCY TALKING POINTS
ON DATA UNCERTAINTY ISSUE. YOU ARE REQUESTED TO MAKE PRES-
ENTATION IN THE COUNCIL OF THIS TEXT IN ITS PRESENT FORM
AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. YOU SHOULD CONFIRM WITH AMB.
RUMSFELD THAT COUNCIL MEETING SHOULD BE HELD 10:00 A.M.
FRIDAY, JULY 27.

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2. IN KEEPING WITH NEED TO EMPHASIZE STILL FURTHER

IMPORTANCE OF CONFIDENTIALITY, HEIGHTENED AS WE APPROACH
OPENING DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS, WE WOULD SUGGEST YOU
PROPOSE TO SYG LUNS THAT COUNCIL SESSION AT WHICH YOU WILL
MAKE PRESENTATION BE LIMITED TO PERMREPS PLUS ONE. YOU ARE
AUTHORIZED TO CIRCULATE WRITTEN TEXT, CLASSIFIED COSMIC,
MINUS PORTIONS MARKED QUOTE FOR ORAL PRESENTATION ONLY
END QUOTE, TO PERMREPS AT TIME OF PRESENTATION IN
COUNCIL. IN INTRODUCING YOUR REMARKS AND IN COVER NOTE FOR
TEXT, YOU ARE REQUESTED TO ASK YOUR COLLEAGUES TO USE MAXI-
MUM DISCRETION IN HANDLING US SUBMISSION.

3. BEFORE PRESENTING EACH OF THE SECTIONS OF THE TEXT
MARKED QUOTE FOR ORAL PRESENTATION ONLY END QUOTE, YOU ARE

ASKED TO NOTE THAT THEY ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT AND TO
REFER PARTICULARLY TO SPECIAL REQUIREMENT FOR MAXIMUM
SECURITY TO PROTECT ALLIED POSITIONS IN ANTICIPATION OF
NEGOTIATIONS.

BEGIN TEXT

UNITED STATES VIEWS ON MBFR NEGOTIATING APPROACH

I. INTRODUCTION

1. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS
SINCE THE AMERICAN PAPER, "THE US APPROACH TO MBFR," WAS
SUBMITTED TO THE NAC. FIRST, THE ALLIES HAVE HAD A CON-
STRUCTIVE DISCUSSION ON THE SUBJECT MATTER IN THE COUNCIL.
PROGRESS HAS BEEN REGISTERED IN THE GUIDELINES PAPER
NOTED BY THE MINISTERS IN COPENHAGEN. SECOND, THE ALLIES
HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS
ON OCTOBER 30 IN VIENNA. THIRD, WASHINGTON HAS CONDUCTED
AN INTENSIVE REVIEW OF THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF MBFR.
THIS REVIEW HAS BEEN BASED IN LARGE PART ON OUR ANALYSIS
OF THE SUGGESTIONS AND VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE ALLIES SINCE
APRIL 30, AND HAS INCLUDED A RENEWED EFFORT TO IMPROVE
FORCE LEVEL DATA. AS A RESULT OF THIS REVIEW, WE HAVE
CONCLUDED THAT A COMBINATION OF FEATURES FROM THE THREE
APPROACHES WE PUT FORWARD ON APRIL 30 COULD PROVIDE THE
BEST BASIS FOR AN ALLIANCE NEGOTIATING APPROACH TO MBFR.

2. AT THE OUTSET, LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT WE ARE PRE-
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PARING FOR A NEGOTIATION. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WAR-
SAW PACT WILL BE AS DETERMINED IN PURSUIT OF THEIR INTERESTS
AS WE ARE. WE ARE ALL CONSCIOUS OF THE REQUIREMENT TO KEEP
THE SECURITY NEEDS OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE BEFORE US AT
EVERY STEP. BUT, WHATEVER NEGOTIATING PROPOSAL THE
ALLIANCE FINALLY CHOOSES, IT WILL REPRESENT WHAT WE ARE
AIMING FOR IN NEGOTIATIONS, AND NOT A RIGID DEFINITION
OF THE SOLE ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME.

3. THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS I WILL PRESENT FULLY CONFORM TO AGREED POSITIONS IN THE GUIDELINES PAPER. OUR SUGGESTIONS WILL ALSO ADDRESS ISSUES NOT YET AGREED IN THE GUIDELINES TEXT. IT SHOULD BE FEASIBLE AFTER AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE ON A SUBSTANTIVE APPROACH TO RESOLVE DISAGREED PORTIONS OF THE GUIDELINES TEXT. AT THAT POINT, THE GUIDELINES PAPER COULD BECOME THE FIRST SECTION OF AGREED ALLIANCE GUIDANCE FOR THE NEGOTIATORS.

4. AS I HAVE MENTIONED, OUR SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS ARE BASED IN LARGE PART ON OUR APRIL 30 ALTERNATIVES AND OTHER SUGGESTIONS MADE HERE. IN FACT, THEY ARE SIMILAR

IN SOME RESPECT TO A PROPOSAL ADVANCED BY OUR BELGIAN COLLEAGUE. WE WILL OF COURSE WELCOME SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF OUR PRESENT PROPOSAL IN THE COURSE OF COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS.

II. UNDERLYING CONSIDERATIONS

5. BEFORE I DESCRIBE WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND, I WOULD LIKE TO DESCRIBE SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS UNDERLYING OUR PREFERRED POSITION.

6. IN THE COURSE OF OUR REVIEW OF OPTIONS, WE UNDERTOOK A SPECIAL EFFORT WHICH HAS NOW BEEN COMPLETED TO IMPROVE OUR DATA ON SOVIET MANNING LEVELS. WE WERE ALSO MOTIVATED BY ALLIED CONCERNS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF DATA UNCERTAINTY ON NEGOTIATING OUTCOMES. AS A RESULT OF THIS EFFORT, WE HAVE, WE BELIEVE, ACHIEVED MORE ACCURATE ESTIMATES, WHICH ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN OUR
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SUGGESTED COMPOSITE APPROACH. THE MAIN CHANGES FROM PREVIOUS ESTIMATES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

7. THERE HAVE BEEN GRADUAL CHANGES IN THE TO&E OF SOVIET DIVISIONS, NEW AIR DEFENSE AND MOTOR TRANSPORT UNITS HAVE BEEN ADDED, AND SEVERAL ADDITIONAL SEPARATE COMBAT AND TRAINING UNITS IN SOVIET FORCES IN EAST GERMANY HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED.

AS A RESULT, OUR ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL SOVIET GROUND FORCES MANPOWER IN THE GUIDELINES AREA HAS INCREASED FROM 390,000 TO 450,000 MEN. THIS IS A SIZEABLE INCREASE IN SOVIET FORCES FROM EARLIER ESTIMATES, AND I WILL BE PREPARED TO RETURN TO THIS POINT IN ANSWERING QUESTIONS.

8. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME MINOR CHANGES IN NATO MANNING
LEVELS. FOR INSTANCE, OUR CURRENT FIGURE FOR US GROUND
FORCES IN THE GUIDELINES AREA IS 193,000 MEN INSTEAD OF
191,000. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE PERSONNEL OF THE
FEDERAL GERMAN BORDER POLICE, THE BUNDESGRENZSCHUTZ,
SHOULD NOT, AS IN OUR PREVIOUS SUBMISSIONS, BE
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